1: Honigmann K-5 (1943-1965) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

606 [illegible] than by the son-in-law's avoidance behavior. Even when [illegible], Mrs. Johnson never relaxed in her reserve.

607 Between sisters' husbands, who call each other "brother," there is evidence of good friendship and some cooperation. Such brothers-in-law often hunt together and frequently visit each others camps. They also constitute trapping partnerships. Talk of a sexual nature is not supposed to occur in the brother-in-law's presence, because "he's married to my sister." Between a man and his wife's sister there is generally good natured interaction; a man may tease this woman, and she may offer to help him in some task requiring assistance, particularly when his wife is absent. Women could unnecessary intimacy with this relative. Thus Louise Mike returned a gun while only the ethnographer (classificatorially her sister's husband) and her brother-in-law, Pierre Donnelly, were in the cabin. She would not even let he hand to the gun through the open door. During interaction direct sexual approaches were several times attempted by Old Man's son-in-law toward their unmarried sister-in-law, Louise. The latter firmly resented these attentions.

608 *In general, the Kaska feel little need to phrase interpersonal relationships with non-*
604 relatives in kinship terms. The reasons are apparent. Kinship in itself is of slight importance
551 in defining relations beyond the nuclear family, and the intensity of wider social relations is governed by frequency of interaction. It is consistent, therefore, that only the most intimate and permanent relations with consultants are marked by use of kinship terms. Non-relatives are most frequently classified as grandfather, brother, sister, and by the sibling-in-law terms, the son, daughter, and parent terms are avoided in such situations.

608 Several instances of artificial kin relationships were observed. If two persons of consider-
551 able age difference are thrown, into association, the younger person may refer to the older by the grandfather term. The behavior toward this conventional grandparent may vary from respect to teasing. The older person himself is generally familiar and indulgent toward the artificial grandchild, whom he addresses by the given name.

609 In 1949 Old Man was lost to his daughter's husband's mother, Lizzy Tom, who was also his cousin with father's sister's son's wife. Old Man took to calling her "sister." All his daughters called her "grandmother."

When the ethnographer and his family became guests of Old Man they were also unconsciously classified within the kinship system. The ethnographer's wife was called "older sister" by Old Man's daughters. This correlated with the expectations of matrilocal residence, in which a daughter brings her husband to her parents' settlement to live. The ethnographer logically became a son-in-law. The ethnographer's children were not called by kinship terms except once when Louise Mike addressed David (a) as "younger brother." The expected term here would have been *ma'* ("my sister's son").

Young men who are not related but are connecting in a drinking party often address one another as "brother-in-law." As pointed out above, sibling terms may be used between consultants. When kinship terms are extended to non-relatives, they are almost always employed reciprocally rather than unilaterally. A respondent is referred to and addressed as "mother" and "mama."

551 Among men, between whom there is no relationship, the given name is generally used
604 as a term of address and either the given name or the full name as a term of reference. A man

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

refers to an unrelated married woman by the first name of the husband with the prefix "mama." Between two women, the given name is generally employed.

Larger Social Groups

Social organization beyond kinship is of slight functional significance in Kaska society and, even more than the kinship system, is largely of categorical importance. The organization of the Kaska nation into tribes occupying loosely defined geographical districts has already been discussed.[1] There are four tribes known as the Frances Lake, Upper Liard River, Dease River, and Nelson Indians. The degree of emotional identification is relatively slight and would seem to be highest among the Upper Liard Indians. Here, however, relations between neighboring tribes are, as we shall see, riddled by considerable apparent antagonisms. Although there is a tendency to restrict marriage within tribal units, many marriages have taken place between these units with a consequent diffusion of tribal membership and identification.

No single pattern for determining membership in a specific district or tribe seems to obtain. Old Man reported that a man belongs to the country of his father. He called himself a Liard River Indian, although his father was a Folly Indian and his mother belonged to the Liard River tribe. *In general a person seems to belong to the tribal district or tribe in* which he was born and raised, regardless of the tribe from which his parents originally came. This is not final, however. A man who changes his residence with marriage, generally becomes identified with the country in which he takes up residence and begins to trap. For a time, he continues to be referred to as belonging to the district from which he originally came. As his roots grow deeper in the adopted district, he begins to be identified with that tribe. Because of the frequent shifting of residence that occurred up to about thirty years ago, and the frequency of tribal intermarriage which still continues, the districts present a far from perfect correlation with tribal designation. For example, the bulk of families in the Frances Lake district are reported to have originally lived in the Upper Liard River region. Of the four family heads known as Upper Liard River Indians, only one was born in that region and his youth was spent in many parts of the total Kaska area.

Most of the Kaska Indians are divided into two unnamed, unnamed "sides" or moieties, the members of each of which feel vaguely related.[2] Although these sides are identified by the names of two animals, the Crow and Wolf respectively, there is little thought that a person has actually descended from a wolf or crow. Since neither of these two animals is customarily eaten, it is meaningless to talk of totemic food taboos. Both animals are readily killed, however, and the wolf is trapped for its fur as well as for the bounty paid on the pelt. The importance of the moiety is slight. Formal organization is lacking, there being no executives and no mechanisms to bring about the unified functioning of the group as a whole. The principal functions of the moiety lie in the regulation of mari-

[1] See above, pp. [illegible]

[2] Writing in 1928, Allard gives the impression of a number of unnamed kin groups. "The tribe," he says, "is divided in the Kaska," a divided into sides, such as Wolf (or ye-ah), Crow (ninkit), Bear (ni), etc." No evidence of more than two exogamous groups could be adduced. By the four "sib," Allard is probably referring to the four Lake Indians, who trapped up along the Liard River and ended into McDame Creek and Lower Post. Allard, "Data on the Kaska and Upper Liard Indians (1928), 10.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

long dress, and a sweater. Long cotton ribbed stockings (essential for summer protection 854
against flies, mosquitoes, and other insects) and diminutive moccasins complete the costume. The head is covered with an embroidered cap. Diaper cloths continue to be used until the child is about a year old. In the morning and at night the baby is washed with warm water.

A fancy baby pack is sometimes made of velvet and wrapped around the baby in a 854
manner similar to the blankets. Along one side and at the bottom the bag is fitted with 482
lacing. The material of the pouch is bound tightly around the infant whose head is kept covered with a cap or with an inner blanket. The sack is supported on the woman's back in a wide shawl, but not by shoulder straps. When packed in this way, the baby faces the mother and often leans forward on the mother's back or shoulder while sleeping.

Baby packs are used only a relatively short time. By the time the baby is about six months old, the velvet bag has been discontinued in favor of a shawl or blanket in which the infant is bound as it sits outside the mother's back (Plate 4, 2). This packing is used when the mother is traveling and also when she is working around camp. Older siblings or young aunts may also pack small children in this fashion. Older children are sometimes carried facing the mother in packsacks such as are used to carry meat and other supplies. These containers are fitted with holes through which the feet can extend. Sometimes an expensive pack is made of canvas or ticking cut like coveralls with long trousers but lacking sleeves. This pack, used for children from two to four years old, is supplied with carrying straps that pass over the mother's shoulder. In such a container the child also faces the mother. Beyond the age of six months the mother begins to carry the baby in her arm or on her hip as she moves around camp. Sometimes a shawl extending around the mother's shoulder is used to support a baby outside the hip, but usually the only support is the mother's arm.

Children are always carried on the mother's back, never kicking or squirming. Much 854
of the day the year old baby is left free to crawl around the camp or cabin but always under the watchful eye of the mother. At night it generally sleeps with the mother; sometimes, however, a small child is placed in a hammock of blankets which is suspended over the parents' bedding. A baby is always laid on its back, never on the stomach.

Another aspect of infant care, protection, is illustrated by the mother's reluctance to leave a small baby alone. Small babies are rarely left in another person's care for more than a few hours. Even though the child could be cared for by an aunt or grandmother, most mothers will not leave camp to travel any distance and allow an infant to remain behind.

Up to about two years of age the baby is rarely or never punished and is the recipient of considerable attention, not only from the mother but also from its father, siblings, grandparents, and aunts. Although, as we have pointed out, the Kaska are an emotionally unexpressive people, they do demonstrate considerable affection toward the neonate and infant. A number of terms are employed to express devotion toward young children. Two of these [551] ●
are, tsna ayuan ("little sons") and nanaai ("little mother"). Babies are rarely permitted to cry without some relative making an attempt to comfort or distract them. Emotionally expressive behavior toward babies includes bouncing the infant in the arms or on the back, touching its fingers, cuddling, holding its face close to the adult's, kissing the cheeks, uttering nonsense syllables, and praising it with kinship terms, like "my younger brother."

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
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petitive element entered these exercises, as a boy who withstood whipping or remained in cold water longer than the others gained the reputation of toughness. It was predicted that he would be able to withstand considerable exposure to cold in later life.[6] It is reported that boys around the time of puberty showed fear of the bush. Overcoming their timidity no doubt constituted further training in hardihood.

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With adolescence a child customarily received a new name, but the circumstances attending name changing could not be ascertained clearly. According to one informant (X), a girl retained her childhood name throughout life and the boy took over his father's at a memorial potlatch dedicated to that parent. Such a pattern hardly corresponds to a name change systematically associated with puberty. Only in anger did one ever call a grown person by his name. Normally people employed relationship terms even though no blood connection could be traced. Older men commonly received the designation "grandfather" while an age-mate responded to "brother-in-law." A child took special care not to utter his mother's name.

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For the girl adolescence meant the beginning of reproductive life and ushered in menstrual avoidances that would continue until menopause except, of course, during periods of pregnancy. Although any connection between the menstrual flow and hymeneal bleeding was denied, people asserted that the initiation of sexual relations brought on menarche some five months later. As Ford points out, in conjunction with considerable premarital intercourse such a belief "would only rarely be challenged by contradictory facts."[7] Girls knew from warnings they had received that sexual experience led to bleeding, and not uncommonly a girl noticing the onset of menstruation seized her blanket and shamefully ran off. The mother followed, seeking her daughter where the latter hid under a tree. The girl was asked the name of the boy who had "started" her. The theory that accidents which caused internal injuries also brought on menstrual bleeding probably served as a rationalization for the appearance of the menses in girls whose chastity had been more than casually guarded. Nobody asso-

[6] Among the Tlingit, "in the winter time, in the extreme cold weather, men and boys would go down to the beach and, naked, jump into ice-cold water" or roll in the snow. "They would then switch their nude bodies, or have someone do it for them, until the blood would all but break through the skin. . . . Youngsters were treated in this way to teach them endurance and make them brave." (Jones, *Study of the Tlingets of Alaska* [1914], 120.) To the north of the upper Liard area in the country of the Pelly River, "after the winter set in it was the custom in the morning before they made a fire to cut a hole in the ice where the water would come about to the shoulders. All the men and youths that held any claim to being strong and being able to withstand hardship jumped in the water, each being armed with small bundles of willows. When they had stayed in the water as long as able, they climbed on the ice and beat each other with willows. The man who could stay in the water the longest and also the hardest whipping with the willows and ask for more was proclaimed the strongest man in the tribe." (Field, *Unpublished manuscript* [1913], 6-7.) Among the Tanaina, along with their value on early rising it was the maternal uncle who threw the boys into cold weather if they did not rise promptly. Osgood, *Ethnography of the Tanaina*, (1937), 135, 143. Compare with Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 190; Honigmann, *Changes in Sarsi Social Culture* (manuscript).

[7] Similar beliefs in a relationship between coitus and menstruation occur among the Lepcha, Andamanese, and Murngin. (Ford, *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction* [1945], 9.) In the Northern Athapaskan Area the middle Yukon River "Tena," too, held that menstruation was brought on by sexual intercourse. Jetté, *On the Superstitions of the Tan's Indians* (1911), 700.